1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

may marry a kinswoman of this degree. In other words, the children of a marriage throw away, as it were, perhaps three-quarters[12] of those kinsmen who are recognized collateral relations of the parents. The father, when he identifies himself with the interests of his own children, at once creates a certain kinship distance between himself and any one of his own siblings, the kindred of whose children only partly coincides with the kindred of his own children. Since the descendants of the father's second cousins are no longer kinsmen of his children, they also cease to be significant for him and are not recognized as kinsmen; similarly in the case of the grandchildren of first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of siblings. And the same considerations apply in the case of the mother and her collateral kin. With the passage of time parents turn their loyalty and interest from the collateral kinsmen of their own generation to their direct descendants and to only those collateral descendants who remain relevant for their own descendants; these are necessarily fewer in each descendant generation.

From one point of view a man's kinsmen are the descendants of the four sibling groups of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers. Sarakatsan kinship finds its source in the unity of the sibling group born and nurtured within a legitimate family. Collateral kinsmen see themselves as the descendants of such a group and it is this sentiment which provides the basis of the personal moral solidarity with a kinsman. Thus the Greek word for cousins (ἐξάδερφοι) means literally 'from brothers'. But Sarakatsani are, also, conscious that it is through marriages in which the interests of siblings or cousins cannot be mutually identified that kinsmen become separated. For a man is related more closely to a particular kinsman than to the kinsman's child; thus, with the close identification of a father's interests with those of his children and the exclusive concentration of categorical obligations in the family of marriage, the marriages of collaterals inevitably lead to change and a measure of disintegration in the individual's kindred. In a phrase, marriage joins strangers while it separates those who are already kinsmen. The consequences for the children and grandchildren of siblings are that a man has approximately only half his kindred

[12] The exact size of this fraction depends upon the size of the various sibling groups in the kindreds.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

612 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common
● 58 with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man
582 may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families
571 who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/ CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.